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"MY TEMPORARY FRIENDS"

By George Morgenstern

(Historical note: The campaign addresses of William Elphinstone were in marked contrast to the oratory of other candidates for the Presidential nomination in 1952. Elphinstone opened his campaign at the Eistedfodd at Walhalla, Oconee County, South Carolina, on the same day that General Eisenhower was reading a speech in Abilene, Kansas. The remarks reproduced herewith are from this address.)

It is perhaps expected that a candidate for the most corrupted office within the bestowal of the people should adopt an ingratiating approach toward the voters, who, after all, possess the power to do him the most mischief. Thus it has been the habit of some politicians to murmur such introductory endearments as "My Friends" to their natural enemies (and prey). These disingenuous salutations are said to have inspired a weepy emotional response. I trust that we need not mutually visit such indignities upon one another.

In other particulars I fear that I must appear a most eccentric candidate. My hat is of an ordinary sort, not composed of the skins of nocturnal carnivorous animals. My apparel is a business suit, of a type recalled from the days when a system of free enterprise still prevailed. Its buttons are of bone, not of brass.

No career in Wall Street investment banking has sharpened my concern for the underprivileged. I have never benefitted from a 27½ per cent tax write-off on a casual million made in oil, nor have I, through my inattention, contributed a single horse to the meat grinder. If I am known as Mister anything, it is simply as Mr. Elphinstone.

These are admittedly serious defects in a Presidential candidate. Are they necessarily fatal? Possibly not. When, following his diplomatic triumphs in China, General Marshall flew to a distant city, the local press remarked with astonishment that the Secretary of State had come unaccompanied by bodyguards. The truer miracle, perhaps, was that he had arrived without benefit of wardens. So far, I am deemed sufficiently lucid to be allowed at large, and I shall stretch your tolerance by suggesting that, in view of the character of my immediate predecessors in high office, this is a sufficient recommendation for your consideration.

In any event, it is not your feelings, but mine, which prompt me to seek the White House. The punishment meted out by recent tenants has not served to callous my sensitivities, but to abrade them. I have felt impelled to act in self-defense. As President, I shall do as little to injure myself as possible, and the benefits of this enlightened policy will, by extension, of course be yours.

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I am inclined toward a mild trust in my capacity to satisfy myself in this role by reason of the indisputable fact that I am not twins. We are in an age described as that of Gemini Presidential candidates. This identical twinning (distinctive especially with the armadillo), began with the Messrs. Roosevelt and Willkie and has persevered through succeeding campaigns, so that now it achieves its apotheosis in the design to couple a five star yes-man with the spiritual legatee of 20 years of the most ineffable misrule since the consulate of Caligula's horse.

As the adherent of a party which sometimes has conceived it to be the duty of an opposition to oppose, I shall not profess to admire what I despise, even though to do so might earn me the approbation of certain influential organs of carbon copy opinion. These may persist in the clamor that the way the Republican Party should seek to prevail is by placing a Trojan elephant within the city of donkeys; but as one who still credits himself with the ability to distinguish between label and content, I reject the suggestion. Faust for a time profited by his bargain, but there is no dispute about who wound up in custody of his soul.

So, by easy stages, we arrive at the always vexing subject of foreign policy. Let us face it: American essays in the regulation of world morals have demonstrated that we don't have the brains for the job. Consequently, I shall not enshrine the late Vandenberg as a model. He who is enticed to the "bipartisan" connubial couch need not be surprised when the denouement is another traveling salesman's story in deplorably bad taste.

In fiscal matters I should be inclined to keep the household allowance in the sugar bowl and to be modest in my expectations. The global monitory mission is not profitable, although sometimes so on a parochial scale, as we learn from the history of O'Dwyer's police. On the world beat the policeman at length becomes too impoverished to replace his uniform. As Korea suggests, he also may be badly roughed up.

IT WILL SEEM academic to rational citizens to discuss domestic affairs as long as they are subordinate, as now, to overriding foreign commitments. We have been assured often enough by the Administration which visited the existing tax calamities upon us that 90 per cent of the swag is dedicated to payment of past wars and preparation for new wars. If I were responsible, that is not a confession I should care to make.

If, however, the attempt be made to divorce domestic matters from foreign policy, the first pitfall to avoid is that of confusing the velocity of the dollar with what is known as "an expanding economy". Some citizens are misled into thinking that they glimpse an unparalleled prosperity simply because money is moving with the speed of

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puffed rice subjected to a betatron. It is only necessary to hold the head still for a moment to discover that the dollars do not pause in flight. Those which find a temporary lodgment on your person are gone again before you can say "John Snyder".

It is equally hallucinative to believe that every farmer can continue receiving government checks until his monel metal silo is completed, or that he should be encouraged to collect conservation payments on enameled wooden nest eggs. The practice of sheltering sure votes at the expense of political dissenters in those warrens known as public housing projects does not commend itself to me. Nor would I perpetuate for another day the long-standing dispensation whereby the landlord's presence is barely tolerated on his own premises.

In brief, the bad news is that all "benefits", bounties and rackets of whatsoever sort will go glimmering, and a million federal check writers will be placed at liberty to practice the art against their own bank accounts, or, lacking these, to turn to forgery. Those who have been on the receiving end may consult McGuffey and rediscover the forgotten joys of virtuous toil. They also have my consent to experience, for a change, the heady sensation of risking their own money.

It has been customary of late to offer the public a political "deal" of one sort or another, as if these penniless profiteers, the office seekers or office holders, had something to offer in exchange for the voter's soul. The gullible who feel richer for having robbed their own pockets have not had the wit to see that such "deals" are backed with their own money. I must disappoint them by proposing no deal at all.

While it is axiomatic that the state is an institution forced by a victorious group upon a defeated group, and having for its object the exploitation of one class by another, it is apparent that the day is fast approaching when the Treasury, like the quondam rich, will offer little better pickings than Mother Hubbard's cupboard. We are at the point of the Roman Empire at the end of the Second Century, when it cost so much to support the state that there was not enough production to pay the bills.

So it is that the lesson on the wall reads: "The locusts have slept here." In these circumstances, it is the likely destiny of anyone assuming the Presidential office to preside over a rather glum congregation. We shall all gather in the parlor, with the drapes drawn, to hear the reading of the will, only to learn that Uncle Franklin and Uncle Harry took the cash and let the credit go, so that there is nothing for any of us but sharing the funeral expense.

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As another perspicacious superfluous man once observed, driving jobholders out of office is as unrewarding as the discredited practice of driving prostitutes out of town, for their places are immediately taken by others precisely like them. Albert Jay Nock, whom I quote, long ago observed that the talk of "liberalizing" the Republican Party merely meant that if those of this disposition had their way the New Deal would be here to stay, as a permanent resource of waste and theft, and that the Republican Party would simply be seeking to compete for the management of it.

This is an ambition which I must confess I do not share. Let others promise you four freedoms, or a baker's dozen; the one freedom which I seek for my own benefit is the freedom to be left alone. I shall not confer upon you circuses or war, the nirvana of "security" or "welfare" by promissory note.

It is my unique ambition to be a weak President — the weakest possible. It will be my object — barring the possibility that I must deal with a Congress of loons — to dismantle the gingerbread castle of government; to demolish the trappings, the retinue and the power of the state; to destroy its capacity to interfere in your lives. In this way the ideal of justice will be restored to the Republic — that justice of which Chief Justice Jay said that it "is always the same, whether it is due from one man to a million, or from a million to one man".

To attain this end, I shall adopt the outlook of Mr. Nock: "In my view, which I believe is the historical view, no good ever came from the application of one injustice to the cure of another. No good ever came, nor I believe can ever come, of a mere shifting of preponderance among economic groups or social classes; nor yet out of any change from one economic system to another which does no more than shift the incidence of injustice. I can not see that this has anything in common with radicalism or conservatism. I should say it is about equally far from both."

The politician in America has hitherto served as an extension of the insufficient citizen's ego. "We won!" is enough the day after election for the multitude which attains its highest fulfillment by identification with crass and crafty robbers hungering for the combination to the safe. Such people live their dream through the spurious symbols of candidates and parties who are always indifferent to their existence, except in November, every fourth year. I shall try to spare you the opium of this substitute religion. I shall endeavor to save you from yourselves, incident to the attempt to save myself from you. The only thing you have to fear is the politician himself.

George Morgenstern, the author of *Pearl Harbor—The Story of Secret War* (Devin-Adair, 1947), has contributed other articles to HUMAN EVENTS.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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The Real Texas Story: The real story of the Texas GOP primary is not a story of "old guard" reactionaries locking the door on fresh-faced, young Republicans desirous of reforming the Grand Old Party. The real story among other things is one of CIO goons, innocent of any voting in their lives save Democratic voting, offering violence to genuine Republicans with a long record of voting Republican, who wanted to get into primary precinct meetings to vote for Taft. According to responsible reports from Texas, we learn that, at the GOP Convention in July, the Texas GOP Committee will present no less than 100 affidavits of such "irregularities" to the Credentials Committee.

The above reports are but surface indications of what has been actually a shameless piece of business, i.e., the brazen attempt by Democrats to capture the Republican primary in Texas. As in the case of the so-called bipartisan policy (few now have nerve to defend that disastrous course), the Texas piece of political mayhem is another example of the 20-year-old drive to create a one-party, monolithic state.

Nothing illuminates this Texas situation (completely confused for the public by partial accounts) so well as an advertisement which appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* of May 3. We possess a photostatic copy of this ad, which was sponsored by the Eisenhower Club of Dallas County. It began: "The resolution that was passed by the Republican State Committee in February is in NO SENSE A PLEDGE. You are not pledged to support the nominee of the Republican Party nor does it prohibit you from voting in the July Democratic Primary, nor does it prohibit you from voting for whomever you please in the November election." More of similar innuendo, well adjusted to the minds of people who have voted Democratic all their lives followed. In short, this was an invitation to Democrats to become "one day" Republicans. It served as a verbal instrument (on the same moral level as the fists of CIO goons) in the effort to achieve Democratic control over the Republican Party in Texas.

This advertisement has caused a sensation among Northern and Eastern GOP politicians. We showed it to one who read it with evident horror. As he remarked: "They [the Democrats] wouldn't dare to try to get away with that up here." And he added: "The nerve of them, inviting Democrats to vote in the Republican primary, people who will then turn around and vote in the Democratic primary."

New York Times: Another illustration of the Democratic plot to capture the Republican nomination appears in a statement by the publisher of the famous Democratic newspaper, Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger. The statement was pretty bald, and so — we imagine — that was why the *Times* did not report it, perhaps feeling that it did not qualify under the famous heading, "All the News That's Fit to Print". It appeared only in the Camden (N.J.) *Courier-Post* (April 19, 1952):

"The *New York Times* is supporting General Eisenhower for the Republican presidential nomination because it is so very frightened at the thought of Mr. Taft, according to the *Times* president and publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger. Sulzberger made the statement in reply to a question by a member of a journalism class he addressed at the University of Pennsylvania, Friday. The publisher indicated his newspaper was 'frightened' of Taft because of his 'consistently isolationist' stand on foreign affairs while the *Times* had long been internationalist in its viewpoint. *Sulzberger said if Taft and Mr. Truman were the rival presidential candidates next November, he believed his newspaper would support Mr. Truman.*" [Our italics.]

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The Decision: A New Deal court blocked the inevitable, the ultimate step of the New Deal — supreme power for the Executive. The disputatious in Washington wrangle over that point, as if it were terribly surprising. We did not find it so. It was suggested in this column on May 14 that "from the narrow standpoint of 'power', it would be logical for the Court to side with the legislative arm", to check the swollen power of the Executive; and that, despite a collectivistic philosophy, "the same members remain humanly jealous of their own power".

How wise the Founding Fathers! For it is written in the Federalist papers, in a disquisition on "checks and balances" as follows:

> **"But the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments of the others. The provision for defense must in this, as in all other cases, be made commensurate to the danger of attack. Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?" (*The Federalist*, No. LI, February 8, 1788.)**

Hard Facts About Steel: The reaction of steel stocks to the Supreme Court's decision, last Monday, was a fractional price drop; the following day, despite the announcement of the strike, this drop was more than made up. Wall Street seemed to say, "Ho, hum."

And well it might. There is no shortage of steel in the country. A survey of the steel consuming industries in the *Wall Street Journal* (June 3) indicates that most of them have steel inventories that will keep them going for a month; which, considering the storage space required, is a plenty. It is well known that the industry — despite the "fears" of the White House and its economists — has met every demand of the country, including the "defense" orders, and that in recent months there has been a glut of steel. (Private industry has a way of making controllers look silly.) A shutdown at this time is not unwelcome in the industry; the surplus steel on the market will be worked off without the necessity of cutting prices, offering discounts and other ways of getting rid of inventories.

Wall Street also knows that for the period of the election campaign, at least, the inflationary practices of the government will not be curtailed. The Administration will try to spend as much as possible, realizing that during "good times" the inclination of the voter is to keep the "ins" in. These inflationary measures should offset any economic reason for a drop in stock values.

Besides, what will the prudent citizen do with the money if he sells his stock? Being prudent, he will hesitate to put it into long-term Government bonds. And, if prices show a profit on his purchase, selling it means paying more taxes, thus dividing the profit with the politicians. No sense in that. Better hold on to the stock and collect dividends.

Ho, hum!

The Ridgway Report: Pentagon circles have already started talking about the first report which the new European commander will — indeed must, in the nature of things — render to Washington. The enormous confidence and respect which General Ridgway enjoys in the defense services springs from a knowledge that he is a blunt, straight-forward soldier who speaks his mind without fear or favor.

The military men do not view the European situation through the same rosy prisms as Administration politicos. Great worry reigns lest the Continent become another quagmire like Korea, or worse. And many Pentagon people have not felt that Eisenhower has given completely candid estimates, in view of his own political situation. Hence, the first words of Ridgway on how things stand "over there" are awaited anxiously.

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Ridgway will, it is confidently expected, immediately take stock, make an inventory of NATO in the next few weeks. Pentagon people differ as to whether he will finish this task and send his report by June 15th or a week later. But, they are agreed, it will be most surprising if Ridgway does not provide answers to such vital questions as these: Will our Western European allies fight? How many soldiers has each of the NATO countries actually contributed to the combined army? Is the present strategy of defense of Europe practical? And what will our commitments run to in terms of blood and treasure?

This Pentagon curiosity has also begun to circulate on Capitol Hill. Ridgway made a profound impression on Congress. Members feel that his report, if too blunt, will be kept a secret among the top-level Administration generals. Congressmen want the substance of his report revealed to Congress and the people so that the whole nation will know clearly "what we are in for". Hence, the inevitable and growing clamor in the lobbies for a resolution to that effect.

Germany: The signing of the treaty at Bonn which is designed to bring Germany into the Western alliance against Soviet Russia caused no swift and dangerous retaliation from Moscow. Nevertheless, there exists a brooding, ominous atmosphere in the West German Republic (which rather conspicuously did not go wild with enthusiasm on the occasion) that prompts observers to keep their fingers crossed.

One of these, the veteran Karl Von Weigand of Hearst Newspapers, reports (June 1) that "leading German diplomats and former High German military circles" term the treaty "the major provocation to Russia" since the end of the war, seven years ago. The important Frankfurt *Zeitung* disclosed that Marshal Zhukov, commanding 157 Russian and satellite divisions, has his GHQ at Insterburg, East Prussia, a fact that increases nervousness in Western zone of Germany. Nor, says Von Weigand, was tension alleviated when the Germans were told that only 10 divisions — American, British and French — held the fort in West Germany. The Hearst correspondent says that a high ranking German general in Bonn made this comment: "The Russians would gobble up these divisions in three days." Thus, the situation as General Eisenhower returns from Europe.

We have received another diagnosis of Germany, all the more necessary in view of the optimistic speeches of Dean Acheson. It is in a letter from Countess Waldeck, a recent contributor to HUMAN EVENTS. That writer remarks: "It is a historical fact that the conflict between East and West has for centuries been fought in the midst of Germany, in its very heart. A comparatively small, intellectually wide open space in the middle of Europe, Germany has always been the cross-road of forces and ideas from North and South, West and East. Germany never, but never, has made an unequivocal decision as to where she stood with regard to East or West — nor *could* she ever make such a decision because she *could not* submit to demands made by either side.

"Here is the secret of her weakness and her superiority. This 'ever-open' question has much to do with the fact that in Germany the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism also remained unresolved. This permitted the development of a tradition of the most audacious, ruthless intellectual research and criticism. Then, in the 19th century, there entered the picture Hegelianism, which *made* history in its marxist form. And here that German intellectual indecision has taken on a new impetus. To assume that Germany could ever be 100% pro-West is sheer madness. . . ."

Capital Political Talk: Few observers here now doubt that Truman is planning and acting to have himself drafted for the Presidential nomination at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in July. His various political speeches and postures in the past month — of the most energetic and political sort — first aroused suspicions. Today the Palace Guard is working hard, with winks, nudges and knowing remarks, to spread the impression that Truman wants the first place on the ticket. "We got the Southerners back on the reservation by H.T.'s announcement of withdrawal. Now we can go ahead." This is the attitude of the White House crowd surrounding the President.

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—— The Eisenhower organization's invitation to GOP delegates to visit the General, expenses paid, certainly proved a boomerang. Not only Taft, but Kefauver forces also denounced it. The scheme is attributed to the brain of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who had been in the forefront of the Ike campaign. Now, it is being said, this debacle will cause Lodge to be relegated permanently to a back seat in the Eisenhower organization. One result of such relegation would be a more powerful control of the Ike movement by Governor Dewey. As we reported on May 7 in this column, not only Lodge but Duff have been pressed hard by the friends of the New York Governor.

—— We can report much conversation around the town about the health of presidential candidates. Often mentioned are the recent news-photos of Ike in Europe, with face tired and drawn. Also, people watching TV remark that Democratic candidate Averell Harriman does not look well. Anyway, both Democrats and Republicans raise the question as to whether there should not be physical examinations of candidates. In this city, especially, it is recalled how F.D.R. was a "doomed man" during the campaign of 1944, and should not have run. Hence some have suggested that the National Committees of the two parties should require candidates to submit to medical examinations. This idea, not unnaturally, finds most favor among supporters of such comparatively "youthful" candidates as Governor Stassen and Senator Kefauver.

Radio Front: The pro-American Liberty network has closed up shop, thus removing from the air two fine news commentators, John T. Flynn and Frazier Hunt. One Liberty news analyst, however, has survived, the former network correspondent in the Capital, Willis J. Ballinger, who is sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Ballinger tonight did an excellent critical examination of General Eisenhower's claim that he had always been a great supporter of Air Power.

The Ballinger program, entitled "This Is Your America", is broadcast on WPIK, in Washington, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 6:15 p.m., E.D.T.; and on Station WIL, St. Louis, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 11:45 a.m., C.D.T. Ballinger says that he expects to add other stations throughout the country ere long.

Between Covers: The sensation in the book stores is Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*, containing the Chambers-Alger Hiss story. Among those who watch the maneuvers of the Communist Party, the following story is told. The Party obtained an advance copy of the book many weeks ago, and put experienced and erudite members to work on it to look for factual errors and any other weaknesses. The plan was to assemble such material and present it to book reviewers and commentators who would criticize the work in an effort to discredit it. Apparently, the scheme failed: factual errors proved to be few and the strength of the author's defense of himself evidently proved too strong for any important reviewer to do a hatchet job. However, some reviewers while not unfavorable remain chilly. (The intelligentsia cannot forgive this assault on their record of the past two decades.)

—— *Senator McCarthy* is a pamphlet by Dr. Kenneth Colegrove, Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, published by Freedom Clubs, 5119 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles 27, Calif. Price ten cents. With admirable and scholarly restraint, Colegrove provides a very impressive brief in defense of the Senator from Wisconsin, and — which is even better — an inquiry into the psychology of those who shout "McCarthyism". The Professor shows that "hysteria" was not a trait of McCarthy, but of those who literally — in an almost feminine way — screamed "McCarthyism". Besides putting the whole matter in the proper perspective of history and politics, Colegrove has succeeded in isolating and studying one of the pernicious maladies of these days, anti-anti-Communism.

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